

I. Roots and forms; II. 1. Elephantine, 2. Aśoka, 3. Palmyra; III. Lexical 1. Greek translations; 2. Hebrew translations; 3. Synonyms and antonyms; IV. Semantics 1. Speech; 2. Behaviour; 3. Law; 4. Plantation Israel

Lit.: ThWQ III xxx-xxx (Ch. Stadel)

*M.M. Bravmann*, Verbs derived from the noun \**qaš/st* “bow” (Studies in Semitic Philology. Leiden, 1977, 559-562). – *G.P. Carratelli–G. Garbini*, A Bilingual Graeco-Aramaic Edict by Aśoka, Rom, 1964. – *A. Cody*, Notes on Proverbs 22,21 and 22,23b (Biblica 61, 1980, 419-426). – *K. Koch*, History as a Battlefield of Two Antagonistic Powers in the Apocalypse of Weeks and in the Rule of the Community (G. Boccaccini [Hg.], Enoch and Qumran Origins. Grand Rapids, 2005, 185-203). – *A. Lange*, ‘So I Girded My Loins in the Vision of Righteousness and Wisdom, in the Robe of Supplication’ (1QapGen ar VI.4). ܩܫܬ in the *Book of the Words of Noah* and Second Temple Jewish Aramaic Literature (Aramaic Studies 8, 2010, 13-45). *L.T. Stuckenbruck*, 1 Enoch 91-108 (Berlin, 2007); – *M. Wagner*, Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch (BZAW 96, Berlin, 1966).

I. The root *qšṭ* is not generally Semitic, but primarily Aramaic. The related Hebrew and Arabic root (there *qst*) are generally explained as loan-words (but cf. Bravmann). Since Eastern Aramaic displays the general East Semitic incompatibility of two emphatic sounds in one root (E. Lipinski, OLA 80, 2d ed., Leuven, 2001, §10.9), we find there variant forms of *qšṭ* such as *kšṭ* and *qšṭ* (see details on the roots *qš(t)* and *qšṭ* in Nöldeke, Neue Beiträge, 132-133). Scholars are unclear about the relation between the different attestations of the root. For example, the CAL differentiates between three different verbs. The first, *qšṭ* or *qšt*, “to shoot an arrow,” “hit the target,” is a denominative verb connected to the noun *qšṭ* “bow.” While the forms with /t/ rather than /ṭ/ are only attested in later Palestinian Aramaic and Syriac, the word *qošæṭ* in Ps 60,6, meaning “bow” or “archery” (LXX τόξον), is an earlier witness to the occasional *qšṭ*-*qšt* interchange. A second verb *qšṭ* ranges in meaning from “to prepare, arrange” to “to adorn, decorate.” The third verb *qšṭ* “to be correct, vindicated,” is identified in only a few verbal forms, which are generally connected to the noun *qwšṭ* or *qšwt*, generally translated as “truth,” “righteousness,” or “honesty.” Some scholars (e.g., Bravmann, CAL, Lange) propose a semantic development from “to shoot an arrow” (i.e., “to aim at”) to “that what is right,” “the truth.” Bravmann even connects all verbs and their derivatives etymologically and semantically, while HALOT, 1974, subsumes the meanings of the second and third verb under one lemma. In some cases it is mooted with which semantic fields forms should be connected. *qšth* in H26.32 is usually interpreted as “his bow,” but H.L. Ginsberg (The North-West Semitic Languages [ed. H. Mazar, The World History of the Jewish People. Vol. 2 The Patriarchs. New Brunswick, 1970], 119) argues that Samalian shares the Eastern Aramaic dissimilation of the second emphatic, and that the form could be “his truth,” parallel to *’mrth* “his command” and *gbrth* “his power” in the same lines. Also, some of the cases of the Palmyrene noun *qšṭ* can be interpreted as

either “ornament” or “right.” The hypothesis of a semantic development from “bow” to “that what is right” is based on the assumption that phonetically variant forms acquired different semantic meanings, and imposes on the semantic analysis an hypothetical etymological explanation. In Imperial and Middle Aramaic, however, one encounters only a few verbal forms. More common are the noun *qšṭ* (in the Qumran texts often spelled *qwšṭ* and in the absolute state also as *qšwṭ* and once *qwšwṭ*) and the adjective *qšjṭ*. Since comparative evidence from cognate languages is missing, and etymology is at best debatable, the interpretation of the forms of the root *qšṭ* needs to be based on the meanings attested in contemporary and later stages of Aramaic (II), on ancient translations, synonyms and antonyms (III), and on textual analysis (IV), rather than on etymology.

II. 1. The Proverbs of Ahiqar line 158 read *kšjṭ' wj'mrnh* (on the Eastern Aramaic dissimilation of /q/ cf. I. Kottsieper, BZAW 194, Berlin, 1990, 42.211), in a broken section apparently dealing with scribal behaviour. Depending on one's reconstruction of the missing words, the adjective *kšjṭ'* is seen as the object of *wj'mrnh* (Niehr, JSRZ.NF 2.2, 49: “Die Wahrheit sollen sie sagen”), of a preceding verb (Lindenberger, OTP 2.158, “[may a good mouth love] the truth”; TADAE C1.1 “ears [that are proper hear] the truth”) or translated in isolation (Kottsieper, 17: “der Wahrhaftige und er sagt es”). The form *hqšṭ* in the Elephantine letter fragment re barley (TADAE D1.20.8), is without direct context, and has been read as an imperative (Sachau; Porten-Yardeni) or perfect (Cowley). The translations “make straight” or “make ready, prepare” are based on the meanings of *qšṭ* in later Aramaic.

2. The first line of the Aramaic part of the bilingual Greek-Aramaic Kandahar Asoka inscription (Asoka 3), proclaims: *šnn io ptjtw 'bjd zj mr'n prjdrš mlk' qšjṭ' mħqšṭ*, roughly corresponding to the Greek introduction δέκα ἐτῶν πληρη[...]ων βασιλεὺς Πιοδασσης εὐσέβειαν ἔδειξεν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. The words *qšjṭ' mħqšṭ* are generally taken as a paronomastic expression where the substantived adjective *qšjṭ'* depends on the causative participle *mħqšṭ*. The expression is then either read in a perfect sense: “he promoted/established truth,” or as an apposition to *mlk'*: “the king who promotes truth” (Garbini, 47). Alternatively, B.A. Levine (JAOS 87, 1967, 186) reads them as two separate epithets: “the king, the truthful one, doer of truth.” The semantic nuance of *qšjṭ' mħqšṭ* aimed at by the translator is not certain. It is generally assumed that εὐσέβεια and *qšjṭ'* were attempts to convey the Indian concept of *dhamma*, even though both terms are inadequate (see, e.g., Sick, JRAS 17, 2007, 257-260 on εὐσέβεια). In that case, the intended meaning refers to one's conduct according to what is right, and not to the promotion of Buddhism as a religious truth. Hence J. Hoftijzer (Textus Minores 29, Leiden, 1962, 6.45) paraphrases “to realize what is correct (sc. the true pattern of life).” Yet, within the larger understanding of Asoka's mission, another interpretation can be given to the Aramaic *qšjṭ' mħqšṭ*, namely that the words refer literally to the establishment or foundation of piety through means of the erection of pillars with edicts. The verbal form *mħqšṭ* may then also be connected with *qšṭ* “to arrange” or “to found” (cf. Tg. Onq. Amos 9,6).

3. In the Palmyrene Aramaic inscriptions several forms with the consonants *qšṭ* are found. The form *qšṭ'* is several times found as a variant of *qšṭ'* “archer,” e.g. in the bilingual Latin-Aramaic inscription CIS 3908 (PAT 253) where the profession *qšṭ'* corresponds to abbreviated *sag[ittarius]* in Latin. Once the verb is used in CIS 4218, 5 (PAT 574, 5) in one of the very few Palmyrene curses against those who would open a grave: *wl' jqšṭ lmn dj jpthjhw 'd* generally understood to be “may

the one who opens it never be vindicated” (e.g. DNWSI and CAL). A noun *qšṭ* is found in several contexts. In the Palmyra tariff CIS 3913, 130–132 (= PAT 259) the phrase *ʿl mlhʾ qšṭ[ʾ] tḥzj lj dj bʾtr dj dms thwʾ mtzbnʾ bʾtr dj mtknšjn*, “as for salt, it seems justified for me that it be sold in the public place where the people assemble.” The purpose of the tariff was to put in writing those fiscal rights and customs that had not yet been written in the law. The expression “it seems justified (or: right) to me” is different from both *tḥzj dj* “it is decreed” (line 128) or *hjk dj nmwsʾ mwḥʾ pšqt* “as the law declares I have decided” (line 128), and *qšṭ* might refer here to what is deemed to be legally correct, probably on the basis of existing custom. In some deeds of concession of property the word *qšṭ* is more problematic. CIS 4209 (PAT 565) concedes an entire funerary building, in Greek ἐξ[εστήσατο τούτον τοῦ μνημείου σὺν ὑπογείῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ σὺν παντί κόσμῳ καὶ δικαίοις πᾶσι, and in Aramaic *[rhq mn qbrʾ dnh wmʾrtʾ] dh wtšbjth wqšṭ[ṭ]h* “he conceded this tomb and this hypogee and its decoration and its rights”. The reconstructions are warranted because of similar wordings in other inscriptions, e.g., PAT 2786, 5 (cf. J. Cantineau, Syria 19, 1938, 155–156) which concedes three tombs σὺν παντί κόσμῳ καὶ δικαίοις / *wtšbth wqšṭwh* and PAT 57, 1 (H. Ingholt, Berytus 2, 1935, 110–111) σὺν δικαίοις πᾶσι / *wqšṭjhwn* (cf. PAT 54; Berytus 2, 104). In all those cases *wqšṭ* + suffix is the last in a list of elements to be conceded (in these texts always with *rhq*). On the basis of Greek δικαία, “rights,” it is easiest to understand Aramaic *qšṭ* here as “(legal or customary) right.” However, without the Greek, the juxtaposition in Aramaic with *tšbjt/tšbt* “decoration” allows for the possibility that an Aramaic reader would interpret in all those deeds *qšṭ* as “ornament” (thus CAL).

III. 1. Greek translations of Second Temple Jewish Aramaic works generally render *qšṭ* with forms of the roots ἀληθ- or δίκαιο-. Dan 2,47 *min qʾšot* is rendered ἐπʾ ἀληθείας; Theod. translates 4:34 *kōl maʾbādōhī qʾšot* by πάντα τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ ἀληθινά (exact correspondence missing in the OG). Also the Greek text of TLevi has three times forms of the root ἀληθ- corresponding to the root *qšṭ* in the Qumran and Genizah fragments of the Aramaic Levi Document, e.g., 4Q213a 1, 12 *rḥt qšṭ* and ὁδοὺς ἀληθείας (ALD 3,2; ed. J.C. Greenfield, M.E. Stone, E. Eshel, SVTP 19, Leiden, 2004) and 4Q213a 2, 9 *djn qšṭ* and κρίσιν ἀληθινὴν (ALD 3, 17). In 4Q213a 2, 7 *zrʾ dq[šṭ]* matches σπέρμα δίκαιον (ALD 3, 15), suggesting that the translator did not translate concordantly but on the basis of dynamic equivalents. Where both Greek and Aramaic are preserved, the books of Enoch always have δικαιοσύνη or δικαίως for a corresponding *qwšṭ* in the Qumran fragments, and δίκαιος for *qšṭ*. In 1En 10,16 Greek τὸ φυτὸν τῆς δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας corresponds to *nšbt qwšṭʾ*, which either represents a double translation, or a later addition of one of the two terms (Eth. has *sedq* and *retʾ*, either of which might ultimately correspond to *qšṭ*). One cannot argue, however, that the translators systematically rendered *qšṭ* with δίκαιο-. The Greek translations of the Enoch works repeatedly use forms of ἀληθ- where one might expect *qšṭ* in the Aramaic (e.g., 1En 15,1 ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀληθείας ... γραμματεὺς τῆς ἀληθείας; 104,9 λόγους τῆς ἀληθείας; 104,13 ὁδοὺς τῆς ἀληθείας), but, apart from 1En 10:16, the Aramaic is lost. In the translation of 1En 106,18 and 107,2 *bqšwt* is, against the meaning of the Aramaic, taken as a qualification of Noah and rendered as δικαίως (for details, cf. J.T. Milik, The Books of Enoch. Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4, Oxford, 1976, 392; L.T. Stuckenbruck, JJS 41, 1990, 16.34–35; Lange, 25–28). Milik reconstructed in 4Q201 1 vi 3 *wkl bnj ʾnšh.j]tqšṭwn*, but this reading is paleographically questionable, there is no correspondence in the Greek translation, and an Ithpaal

of *qšṭ* is otherwise unattested (M. Langlois, *Le premier manuscrit du Livre d'Hénoch*, Paris, 2008, 338-346 proposes here *jplṭwn* and identifies the fragment as corresponding to 1En 102,8-10). The Qumran fragments of Tobit preserve a few times remnants of *q(w)šṭ*. This corresponds twice to δικαιούνη in 4Q196 17 ii 3.5 (Tob 13,7). Other cases are more problematic. The reading of Qof in 4Q197 3, 5 of *lmnd' bq[šṭ]* (Tob 5,14 τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐβουλόμην γινῶναι) is very uncertain. In 4Q196 17 ii 9 Fitzmyer (DJD 19, 26) reconstructs *bqw[šṭ] hwd[j]* which he associates with Tob 13,10 (Vat.) ἐξομολογοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἀγαθῶς. However, comparison with the Greek rather suggests the reading *bnj qw[šṭ] hwd[j]* corresponding to Tob 13,9-10 (Vat.) τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν δικαίων. ἐξομολογοῦ (so also ATTM II, 184). In 4Q197 4 ii 2 *w'lyk djn qšṭ' gZR lm[šbh]* "Und in bezug auf dich hat er (oder: ist) das wahre Recht beschlossen, [sie] zu [bekommen]" (ATTM II, 180) corresponds to Tob 6,13 (Sin.) δεδικαίωται σοι λαβεῖν αὐτήν, where the Greek renders ad sensum (taking *gZR* as a Peil). The translator's use of the root δικάω- was apparently influenced by *qšṭ*. In Tob 7,7 the adjective *qšjt* as in 4Q197 4 iii 9 *gbr' qšjt[']* probably corresponds to καλός. There is no ground for assuming with Lange that the single term *qšjt* was rendered by καλός καὶ ἀγαθός, and conceived of in terms of the Greek notion of kalokagathia. See below III.3 for the pairing of *qšjt* and *ṭb*. (Interestingly, all the translations have here "noble and good," but the medieval Aramaic text A5 Bodl. Heb. Ms. 2339 reads in Tob 7,7 *w't br zk'j wqšjt*.) A different meaning of *qšjt* is in 4Q197 4 iii 2 *d[brnj qšjt] lbjt r'w'l* corresponding to Tob 7,1 (Sin.) ἀπάγαγέ με εὐθείαν πρὸς Παρουήλ.

2. In the Qumran Job Targum, 11Q10 7a, 8 (Job 23,7) preserves the words *'rw qšṭ wdt[']*, which seem to be closer to LXX ἀλήθεια γὰρ καὶ ἔλεγχος than to MT *šām jāšār nōkāh*. In 11Q10 11, 8 (Job 27,17) *[m[...]]h qšjth jplg* corresponds to MT *w'kaesæp nāqī jah'loq*, while LXX reads τὰ δὲ χρήματα αὐτοῦ ἀληθινὰ κατέξουσιν, with again a case where the root *qšṭ* in the Targum corresponds with ἀληθ- in the LXX. In 11Q10 24, 7-8, Job 34,13 is rendered *hw' r'° bd wqšṭ ṭb[l]*, where the Pael *qšṭ* is used in the slot of Hebrew *šām*. A similar use of *qšṭ* is attested in Tg.Onq.Amos 9,6 where it renders Hebrew *jāsād*. However, the translator's choice for this rarely used verb *qšṭ* probably plays with the association with the noun *qšṭ*. In this section the translator repeatedly uses the noun and verb *šqr* (in the translation of Job 34,8.10.12.17) and therefore immediately connects Job 34,12-13: *hk'n šd' 'lh' jšqr ... wqšṭ ṭb[l]*. In the Targum, these verses are also connected syntactically: instead of MT which changes the grammatical subject from God to *mī pāqad 'ālāw*, the Aramaic continues with *hū'*, still referring to God. There are no other Second Temple translations which would show to which Hebrew words *qšṭ* would correspond. Within the Biblical and Qumran texts, there are however fixed and occasional Hebrew and Aramaic expressions which correspond. The words *blbb dk' wbrwh qšjth wṭbh* in 4Q542 1 i 10 (TQah) "with a pure heart and a straight and good spirit" translate the two juxtaposed terms of Ps 51,12 *lēb ṭāhōr* and *rū'h nākōn*. The LXX renders here *nākōn* with εὐθύς (compare the translation of *qšjt* in Tob 7,1 Sin. with εὐθείαν). A fixed expression is *'rh(t) qšṭ(')* (3x in 4Q212 which contains the Enochic Apocalypse of Weeks; twice in ALD, in 4Q213 4 5 and 4Q213a 1 12; in 1QGenAp 6 3 if one reads *'rht* rather than *'wht*) which corresponds to Hebrew *drkj 'mt* and/or *drkj šdq* (cf. also *šbjlj 'mt* in 1QGenAp 6 2; on this Hebraism cf. C. Stadel, *Hebraismen in den aramäischen Texten vom Toten Meer*, Heidelberg, 2008, 18-19). Aramaic *nšbt q(w)šṭ(')* corresponds to Hebrew *mṭ't 'mt* (1QH<sup>a</sup> 16,11), while *djn qšṭ(')* (judgement of *qšṭ*) could correspond to the very common *mšpṭ šdq* rather than to *mšpṭ 'mtkh*. The identically written *djn qšṭ[']* (judge of *qšṭ*) has a

parallel in Hebrew *djn h'mt* (11Q5 24,6). Also in the targumim the noun *qšt* is a common rendering of both *'mt* and *šdq*. Thus, almost all occurrences of *'mt* and *šdq* in the Pentateuch are rendered by *qšt* in Tg.Onq. Apart from those renderings, Tg.Onq., and to a lesser extent, Tg.Ps-Jon., regularly uses *bqwšt'* as an, often introductory, particle in direct speech, where the Hebrew text uses a range of different particles like *'abāl*, *'ākēn*, *'ōmnāh*, *'ap*, or *kī*. There are no frequently corresponding Hebrew words to *qšjt*. In the Tg.Onq. it is used a few times as a rendering for Hebrew words from the roots *'mn*, *jšr*, and *šdq*. The translational correspondence of Aramaic *qšt* with Greek ἀληθ- and δίκαιο-, and with Hebrew *šdq* and *'mt* agrees with the LXX renderings of *'mt* by ἀληθ- (and occasionally δίκαιο-) and *šdq* by δίκαιο-. The correspondence of δικάια and *qšt* (singular or plural) for “rights” in the bilingual Palmyrene texts aligns with the *qšt* and δίκαιο- correspondence, and it is possible that Palmyrene *qšt* is a semantic calque. The bilingual Kandahar Asoka inscription, used both εὐσέβεια and *qšjt'* to express the concept of *dhamma*. One should note, however, that none of these terms were static in their respective traditions, and the specific cotexts and contexts determine their meanings.

3. A close synonym is *jšyb* “definite, valid, true.” Compare, in similar clauses *bjšb'* (1QGenAp 2,20) and *bqšt* (1QGenAp 2,22). In Dan 2,8 *min jaššib* functions similarly to 2,47 *min q'šoť*. In 4Q212 1 iii 19-20 (1En 93,2) *nšbt jšbt'* corresponds to *nšbt qwšt'()* in 1QGenAp 14,13 and 4Q204 1 v 4 (1En 10,16; note that Eth. reads in both 10,16 and 93,2 *tekla šedq wa-ret'*). The Greek wording of 1En 106,12 τὴν ἀκριβειαν ... καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν (“the exact facts ... and the truth”) may reflect a juxtaposition *jš(j)b' wq(w)št'* (cf. the rendering of *jšjb* by ἀκριβής/ἀκριβεια in LXX Dan). In contexts of speech, 3 times *bqšt* “truthfully” (1QGenAp 2,6 [recons.]; 2,7; 3,13; 4Q204 5 ii 30 [1En 107:2]) is accompanied with (w)l' *bkd bjn*, “without lies.” In the Enochic Apocalypse of Weeks (1En 93:1-10; 91:11-17), partially preserved in 4Q212 1 iii-iv, the author contrast the concept of *qš(w)ť* to that of *hms* “violence” and *šqr* “lie, deceit” (4Q212 1 iii 25; iv 14). In 11Q10 24 the targumist intentionally uses the roots *qšt* and *šqr* in the translation of Job 34:8-17. A contrast between “truth” and “deceit” is found in 1QGenAp 6 3 if one reads with Machiela (STDJ 79, Leiden, 2009, 43) *r'ht qwšt* and *ntjb šqr*. In 1QGenAp 6 2 *šbjlj 'mt* suggests that *'mt* corresponds to *qwšt*. In ALD 13:3 (4Q213 1 i 7) *šdqt'* forms a pair with *qšt'*. In 4Q542 (TQah) 1 i 9 *qwšt'* and *jšjrwť* are parallels, and in 1 i 12 *qwšt'*, *šdqt'*, *jšjrwť*, *tmjmwť* are the first four elements of a list of seven qualities to be transmitted throughout the generations of *qšt*. In the Aramaic Qumran texts, *qšjt* and *tb* “good” are paired twice: 4Q537 10 1 *qšj]ťj' tby'* (but uncertain reading) and 4Q542 1 i 10 *rwħ qšjth wťbh*. The probably identical pairing with “goodness” is also found in 1En 91,4 and 92,4 (Eth.: *šedq* and *hirut*) and Tob 7,7 with καλός (*qšjt*) and ἀγαθός. Another word often used with *qšt* is *djn*, either in parallelism (Dan 4,34: God's deeds are *qšt*, his ways are *djn*) or in construct: *djn qšt* (proper judgment).

IV. 1. A common use of *qšt* is with respect to speech and the communication of knowledge. In the Genesis Apocryphon the dialogue between Lamech and Batenosh underscores that she recounts to him (*ħwj* Pael; 1QGenAp 2,5,10) and speaks with him (*mll* 1QGenAp 2,7,18) *bqšt* and without lies (*l' bkd bjn*). Methuselah then goes to Enoch in order to learn (*jd'*) everything with certainty (*bjšb'* 1QGenAp 2,20) and truthfully (*bqšt* 1QGenAp 2,22). See, similarly 1QGenAp 15,20 for *ħwj* + *bqšt*. The narrative is also recounted in 1En 106-107, parts of which are preserved in 4Q204. Enoch confirms

that Lamech's son is really (*bqšwt* 4Q204 5 ii 22) his own, and tells Methuselah to recount to Lamech that the boy is his, *bqšwt wl' bkdbjn* (4Q204 5 ii 30). In 4Q542 1 ii 1 Qahat refers to everything which he has taught (*'lp*) his sons "in truth" (*bqwšwt*), and follows with a reference to *mmr qwšt'* which might be here "truthful speech." Also Ahiqar 158 may concern the speaking of "truth." Direct speech may begin with an adverbial phrase like *min q'šoť* (Dan 2,47) or *bqwšt'* (Tg.Onq.), that qualifies the content of the speech. In a few cases (1QGenAp 2,5.7.10.18), the context allows for *bqšt* to be interpreted as "straightforward" or "frank" comparable to Greek εὐθύς, in which case it would qualify the mode of speech. However, the other examples show that *qšt* rather functions on a metapropositional level, qualifying the content of speech, indicating a reliable correspondence between a proposition and reality. Generally, one would expect this semantic meaning to be expressed in Greek by ἀλήθεια.

2. A second semantic field concerns the use of *qšt* with respect to behaviour. Sometimes the language is straightforward: 4Q202 1 iv 26 (1En 93,17) *qš]ť' y'bdwn*, "one will do *qšt*". Cf. perhaps also 4Q196 17 ii 5 *qw[šť' 'bdw* (Tob 13,7 ποιήσατε δικαιοσύνην). The result are *'bdj qšt'* (4Q580 1 i 11). But behaviour is expressed foremost through the metaphor of walking on path(s) of *qšt* (Stuckenbruck, 1 Enoch 91-106, 165-168). In 1QGenAp 6,2 Noah describes that he "walked in the paths of everlasting truth" *mhlk bšbjlj 'mt 'lm'*, and then (6,3) contrasts the *mslj 'rht qwšt* to the *ntjb šqr*. In 4Q212 1 ii 20 (1En 91:18-20) Enoch teaches his children to walk (*lmhk*) on the *'rht qwšt*, and not on the paths of violence, and in 4Q212 1 v 25 (1En 94,1) Enoch tells his children to love "righteousness" (Eth. *šedq*) and walk in it and refers to the *'rht qwšt* as opposed to the ways of iniquity. These two-ways texts present an ethical dualistic view, with two kinds of behaviour, and also two destinations of the roads. In the ninth week of the Apocalypse of Weeks, after the destruction of wickedness, all people will look at *'rht qšt 'lm'* (4Q212 1 iv 22; 1En 91:14), with *'lm'* "eternal" qualifying not *qšt*, but the construct *'rht qšt*. In contrast, the path of iniquity leads to darkness (1QGenAp 6,3). The Aramaic Levi Document does not have an opposition between roads, but one road which one should not abandon or stray from. A fragment prophesies how some will abandon (*tšbqwn*) the *'rht qšt'* (4Q213 4 5). In ALD 2:4-5 Levi recounts the purification of his garments, how he had washed himself in living water, and πάσας τὰς ὁδοὺς μου ἐποίησα εὐθείας. He then asks God to grant him all *'rht qšt* (4Q213a 1 12; ALD 3,4 ὁδοὺς ἀληθείας) and that no satan might have power to let him stray from God's path (ALD 3,9). For this one-road metaphor, the use of *qšt*, inasmuch as the root also expresses the straightness of a road (Tob 7,1 *qšjt'* / εὐθείαν) is especially appropriate. Other expressions, related to behaviour include *'hd bqwšt'* ("hold firm to *qwšt*") in 1QGenAp 2,6 and 4Q542 1 i 9. In the latter it is parallel to "walk" (*'zl*) in integrity. Since *qšt* is related to behaviour and opposed to iniquity, it seems to convey the notion of good or right behaviour. In most cases, the adjective *qšjt* expresses the same idea, and is used for those people with right behaviour. Three specific notions may also be at the background. First, the idea of a straight path from which one should not stray. Second, the connection with trustworthiness (for which cf. 4Q550 4 3 *hwh 'bd mn qšwt ... qdmwhj* "he has served with truth ... before him." Third, the concept of a right correspondence between behaviour and a divine commanded order.

3. A connected area in which *qšt* is used, concerns that of legal decisions (cf. II.3 for the Palmyrene texts). The word *djn*, connoting a lawsuit, a legal decision, a judgement, or justice, is repeatedly

qualified by *qšṭ*. In 4Q212 1 iv 16 (1En 91,12), a sword will be given in the eighth week, that of *qšṭ*, to all the upright ones, in order to exact a *djn qšwṭ* from all wicked ones. In ALD 3,17 (4Q213a 2 9) Levi prays to be partake of God's words, to do *djn qšṭ* (ποιεῖν κρίσιν ἀληθινῇν) for all times. The context is here not the slaughter of the Shechemites. Rather it refers, like ALD 6,2 (Bodl. b) *wk'n brj djn qwšṭ' ḥzjnk* to the association of laws and judgments with the Levites, based on Deut 33,10, and also expressed in Jub 31,15. Both in 1En 91,12 and in ALD, *qšṭ* qualifies legal decisions or judgment as proper, correct. In 4Q197 4 ii 2 (Tob 6,13 Sin.) *w'lj k djn qšṭ' gẓr lm[šbh / δεδικαίωται σοι λαβεῖν αὐτήν* probably refers to the proper legal decision in the specific case of Tobias and Sarah (in correspondence with Num 36,8-9). Dan 4,34 *dī kōl ma<sup>a</sup> bādōhī q<sup>e</sup>šoṭ w<sup>e</sup>-<sup>2</sup>orḥātēh dīn*, "because all he does is *q<sup>e</sup>šoṭ* and his ways are just," is not a mere hymnic praise of God; *ma<sup>a</sup> bādōhī* refers back to 4,31-32 according to which God does (*ābēd*) what he wills, and no one can challenge him "What are you doing (*māh "badt*)?" The whole clause expresses the insight of Nebuchadnezzar, that God's actions towards him were proper and justified. Language that reminds of both 1En 91,12 and Dan 4,34 is used for the eschatological kingdom of the people of God in 4Q246 II 5-6: *wkl ṛḥth bqšwṭ jḏj[n] ṛ<sup>o</sup> bqšṭ* "and all his/its ways are *bqšwṭ* and he/it judges the earth *bqšṭ*." This semantic area is theologically laden: God himself is just, and he grants the means for just judgment, both through the Levites, and eschatologically through the upright ones, his people. In view of the broken Aramaic text is not clear how to understand *djn* in 4Q205 1 xi 2 (1En 22,14) *brjk djn qwšṭ[']*, as "judgment" or "judge" (G.W.E. Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch 1, Minneapolis, 2001, 301-302). In some cases *qšṭ* might (elliptically) include the notion of *djn qšṭ*. This seems the case with the *mlj qwšṭ'* and the *spr mlj qwšṭ'* of Enoch in 4Q204 1 vi 8-9 (1En 13,10-14,1) which consist of what is called a reproof (*mwklh*, ἐλεγξίς) but actually is God's verdict on the Watchers. It is only in this context that Enoch apparently was called a scribe of *qwšṭ'* (1En 12,4 γραμματεὺς τῆς δικαιοσύνης and 15,1 γραμματεὺς τῆς ἀληθείας; not preserved in Aramaic).

4. A special case is formed by texts that employ the metaphor of plantation with *qšṭ*. The expression *nšbt qwšṭ'* occurs in 1QGenAp 14,13, 4Q204 1 v 4 (1En 10,16), and is partially reconstructed in 4Q537 13 1. In 4Q212 1 iii 19-20 (1En 93,1) one might reconstruct *nšbt jšbt'* [*wqwšṭ'*, and i iv 12-13 (1En 93,10) expands to *n[šbt] qšṭ ṛ[m]*. In Second Temple Judaism the plantation imagery (in Hebrew generally *mṭ't wlm*, but in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 16,11 *mṭ't ṛ mt*) is based on Isa 60,21 *w<sup>e</sup>-ammēk kullām šad-dīqīm ... nēšær maṭṭā'aj* "your people shall be righteous ... the shoot of my plantation" and 61,11-12. In the light of this verse, the *nšbt qwšṭ'* is the plantation of the righteous ones, the people of Israel. But also in other expressions within this broader plantation imagery, *qwšṭ'* can be understood to refer to Israel and/or to the eschatological upright ones. This holds for the beginning of 1QGenAp 6, which describes in plant imagery how Noah *jṭt lqwšṭ* and *lqwšṭ nšjbt* (I sprouted ... and was planted "for uprightness," i.e., to become the forefather of God's nation, Israel). The connection with Isa 61,11-12 also helps to interpret 1QGenAp 6,4 which may be read *wḥsj ṛst b<h>zwn qwšṭ' wḥkmt' bm'jl ṭft* "I girded my loins with the belt of *qwšṭ'* and clothed myself in a robe with wisdom," which expands on Isa 61,11 *m<sup>e</sup> ṭl š<sup>e</sup> dāqāh j<sup>e</sup> āṭānī*.

5. In some texts *qšṭ* appears as an abstract category, either separately, or in contrast to "iniquity." E.g., in 1QGenAp 6,4 it refers to human "correct behaviour" or "uprightness." In other texts, *qwšṭ'* appears as an independent supernatural positive force, that relates both to moral conduct, to a su-

pernatural power, and to the role of God's righteous people in history. In the Apocalypse of Weeks it is one of the basic cosmic principles in history, manifesting itself differently throughout history, and opposed to *šqr*' and *hms*'. Koch, History, compares the character of *qwšṭ*' in this text and its opposition to *šqr*' and *hms*' to the Iranian opposition between *asha* and *drug*, traditionally translated by "truth" (already Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 47 ἐξ θεοῦς ... τὸν δὲ δεύτερον ἀληθείας) and "lie" or "deceit." Notions of the concept of *asha* (sometimes also translated as "order") and the development of a dualistic worldview may have enriched *qwšṭ*', and it is historically more helpful to compare *qwšṭ*' with *asha* than with Egyptian *maat*. Yet, the adaptation of the concept in Early Jewish texts also led to new ideas, such as the connection with election. In 4Q212 1 iv 12 (1En 93,10) some are chosen (*jtḃḥrwn*) to be *šhdj qšṭ* (witnesses of *qšṭ*) and 4Q580 1 i 10 mentions in broken context *bḥjr lqšṭ*.

6. It is sometimes not clear which of those semantic aspects of *qšṭ* prevail. The expression *drj qwšṭ*' refers in 4Q542 1 i 4 to the generations of the Levites (cf. perhaps also 4Q547 9 7 *wbnwhj btrh lkwl 'lmjn bqw[šṭ]*), indicating a connection between *qwšṭ*' and the Levitical rights, but in 1 ii 8 it refers to the generations of the eschatological period, suggesting the manifestation of *qwšṭ*' at the end of time. The latter also seems implied in 4Q204 5 ii 28 (1En 107,1). In 4Q213a 2 7 (ALD 3,15) *zr' dq[šṭ]* (σπέρμα δίκαιον) might refer to the upright behaviour of the progeny, or to the "rights" bestowed on the Levites. The designation *prds qšṭ*' (4Q206 1 xxvi 21; 1En 32,3 παράδεισον τῆς δικαιοσύνης) probably either refers to the original state of Adam and Eve when they were in paradise, or indicates it will be the dwelling place of the righteous dead. Alternatively, it characterizes the paradise as belonging to the physical and temporal realm of *qwšṭ*' as opposed to that of injustice. Other phrases are found in too fragmentary texts. E.g., *j'bd qšṭ' mn* "and *qšṭ*' will perish from" in 4Q565 1 5.

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